

The I. W. W. is the ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION of the WORKING CLASS; It Has No Political Affiliation and Is Controlled by no Political Party

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

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## WHICH WAY YOUR TRAVEL-- FORWARD or BACKWARD?

### A Word from Workers to Workers.

Another convention of the mine workers of the West will soon pass into history; another milestone will denote the road upon which men of toil are marching, either toward progress and the common goal on the straight road, toward rough and obstructed by obstacles galore it may be, or backward on the smooth sideways which are easily traveled but lead into swamps and mire of reaction and corruption.

The deliberations of this convention will determine whether the progressive, revolutionary working class of America can rank the Western miners as parts of the advancing guard, or whether they are in reputation of the record of the past, will line up with the mighty forces that obstruct the pathway of progress in the working class movement of this land. And in these hours when you will deliberate on your program for the future, the voice of the Industrial Workers of the World should be heard, the voice of the organization, of which you were not the parents, but partners and co-workers, for over a year; that voice which was raised first when the last outrageous act of your enemies eclipsed the horizon of the labor movement, and threatened to throw the world of workers into gloom and despair.

### Haywood's Reasons.

Let us repeat to you the illustrious words of William D. Haywood, then one of your peerless officers. In the January, 1905, conference of industrial unionists, which gave to the world the now historic "Industrial Union Manifesto,"

"Driven from pillar to post as most of our best men have been, persecuted and hunted away from places where they thought to find at least a temporary place for shelter, in the storm center of battle against that most unscrupulous position of the capitalist class, the Mine Owners' Association, the red militants of the Western Federation of Miners, could neither be coaxed nor coerced into submission, nor could they be cajoled, bought and corrupted.

Through this bitter, cruel warfare we have been able to hold our own; supported only by those whose hearts like that of Myron Reed's, were with the miners on "Bull Hill."

Disconnected, however, as we were, we could not rally the forces of our friends and supporters for more concerted action all along the line; we realized that great principles underlying these movements for cooperation with the Western Federation of Miners needed a common center from which to exercise their force and vigor; and we welcomed the attempt to rally all workers who believe in the same principles into one organization that will best give expression to the fundamental necessity of working class solidarity.

The capitalists of the West are preparing for the last decisive blow. They fear just such things as contemplated here as a result of this gathering. When the industrial forces of the West and East, weak though they are in numbers, but strong in determination and willpower, combine for one common purpose, the capitalists of the West will not dare to single out the Western Federation of Miners as a target for their attacks, because the injury to the one will be the concern of the whole working class.

Irresistible as are the forces that make for the unification of the hosts of toil, yet stronger yet are the powers that the capitalists command. We, few, who have stood loyal to the principle upon which the Western Federation of Miners has been founded, know that the next price that they will demand in their warfare will be the life of those whom they hold responsible for the make-up and fighting qualities of the element constituting the Western Federation of Miners. Personally, I care not if our life is the price for the advance of the cause so dear to our hearts, and there are thousands in the Western Federation of Miners whose life would be placed at the shrine of labor's cause if needed. But there are other things to consider. If sacrifices are to be, they should not be made in vain; and our offspring should benefit from our struggles; they must be taken care of when bereft of their fathers and supporters.

The Western Federation of Miners can not do it alone. The American Federation of Labor is not a labor organization; the call for action must come from an organization that has embodied in its form and program all that is good in the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood Workers, the American Labor Union and the Socialist Alliance, and have all had things of either eliminated. It must be the organization that by its sound and correct principles must command the ear and respect, and attract the devotion of the

wage workers, immaterial of what slander and calumnies will be hurled against such a body by the many enemies.

The Western Federation of Miners, for whom I speak individually, will praise the day when such an organization can be launched, and we will be proud, with all of you here, to stand sponsors, because without such an organization the Western Federation of Miners is bound to be annihilated by the fire of our enemies, as we have reached the limit of endurance.

So let us work and strive to give to the working class an organization that will grow powerful enough to check the further onslaughts of the master class and conquer for the producers of wealth the full product of their toil."

These words of Haywood, evidently endorsed by his associates, indicated the trend that events then foresting their shadows were taking. The Western Federation of Miners can anticipate what was next to come. None knew better what the capitalists of the West had planned; the type of a few was to be sacrificed if there would have had their way. To ward off the death-blow against the western miners the working class as a whole had to be aroused in time, and an organization brought into life which would carry the message of united action in the critical and crucial hours into the houses and homes of the workers.

No help could be expected from the craft organizations as organized in the American Federation of Labor. Since the Western Federation of Miners had separated from the former, at the suggestion of Edward Hayes, then president of the W. F. of M., the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and all affiliated bodies with exception of only two National Unions, looked only for a chance to stab the Western Federation of Miners in the back whenever opportunity afforded, and although a large proportion of the rank and file were allied with the Western Federation in their heroic struggle, yet they were powerless to prevent the treacherous acts of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

This has been proven time and again. Circular letters, supposed to be secret documents, were sent out to all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, by the Executive Council, advising and ordering the workers to stop contributions for the support of the miners; the device worked and when the Citizen Alliance and Manufacturers' Association, in a dispatch from Kansas City invited the reliable leaders of the American Federation of Labor to conduct a tour and help them in the warfare of extermination against the Western Federation of Miners, it was shown frequently in the attacks of the "Mine Workers' Journal," official organ of the United Mine Workers of America, in which the Western Federation of Miners was continually assailed because of its aggressiveness. When, in spite of the vilifications, abuses and attacks, hundreds of thousands turned their eyes towards the West, expecting from there the courageous words that would rally together all the fragments of the revolutionary elements in this land, it was only the logical result of that fierce opposition that tried men's souls and brought them together in common thought and effort.

In the acts of the labor lieutenants of the exploiting class could be seen the directing hands of those who were striving to annihilate the Western Federation of Miners by the use of the map. And not only once has the official organ of your organization, the "Miners' Magazine," corroborated the statement here made, but such has been asserted by all the staunch supporters of the miners in their struggles.

So, after all, the co-operation of the Western Federation of Miners in launching the Industrial Workers of the World, was as much a matter of consistent development, as also an act of necessity for the protection of the best interests of the metalliferous miners in the West.

### The Cheerful Responses of the Working Class.

No other event in the labor movement of America has aroused so much the enthusiasm of the downtrodden as the launching of the Industrial Union Manifesto, but at once the ire of all enemies against the proposed formation of a true economic organization of the working class was attracted and stirred to furious exhibition. The leaders of the craft unions throughout the countries, huddled over their diatribes, politicians and hucksters, in fear that the flare of enthusiasm would deteriorate their chances for more spoils, were meditating how to deal with the new phenomenon, the rank and file of the old unions began to awake and press for action upon their supposed to be leaders, and the capitalist class began to tremble once more, just as they will do every time when the workers were directing their fervor, their in-

stincts and their activity into the channels of working class solidarity on the industrial field.

### BENEDICT ARNOLD AT WORK.

Remember, that Sam. Gompers, the president of the Civic Federation, the president of the American Federation of Labor, in self-eulogy of his treacherous acts against the working class in 1904, when he went to Chicago to the "funeral of the American Railway Union" entered for the gratitude of the master class when he reminded them—then years later—that it should be remembered that it was the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor acting in conjunction with the chiefs of the railway brotherhoods which refused to participate in the great strike on the railroads entering in Chicago in 1904—and the A. F. of L. struck the keynote of resistance against the dangerous delusion that the emancipation of the working class can be achieved by placing in the hands of shallow politicians the business enterprises now conducted by private persons. . . . the programme of the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution was declared alien to the trade union movement." (Official Publication of the St. Louis, Mo. Exposition American Federation of Labor Exhibit.)

And mark well that after this confession of a Benedict Arnold treason you should not be surprised, and surprised, to see him and his associates hurry to the support of the master class when they could show their servility and that of their Praetorian Guards of labor's foes.

## ANOTHER EFFORT-- TO THE RESCUE!

Comrades and Fellow-workers every-

where: A few who were looked upon as leaders were freed from the clutches of the henchmen by the concerted efforts of the workers. Well done the work. Hundreds of thousands contributed their mite, and combined their energies to halt the arm of capitalist persecution stretched out to strangle and murder us! "Kill them and the mighty arm of labor's organized will is paralyzed." Thus the capitalists thought, but the workers' aroused anger augured bad forebodings. The capitalist class surrendered. The principle won the day of contest.

Men and women of the workshops! There are others, victims for the same cause, common soldiers, not known by the name of henchmen. He blamed the true, as loyal, as deserving the support of all of you in whose interests they fought when free men; in whose behalf they suffer now behind prison bars and the damp walls of the dungeons.

Joseph Smith and M. R. Preston are still languishing in jail. You can set them free if you will.

What have they done? A working girl, employed in the restaurant owned by a brutal exploiter, J. Silva, quit her job because of the overbearing and tyrannical conduct of her employer.

J. Silva thereupon refused stubbornly to pay her the wages due. The girl was a member of the Union. A committee was delegated to settle the matter. The restaurant owner refused to pay the wages he owed. Thereupon all the employees in his place refused to work any longer for him. The place was "shut down" by all workers in that city. Pickets were stationed around the restaurant to tell those who did not know the true story of the "restaurant" and within 24 hours there wasn't a living soul that would get meals in Silva's restaurant.

Pickets still stood guard when M. R. Preston, the Secretary of the Cooks' and Waiters' Union, relieved them and went on duty himself. The owner noticed him. He blamed the trouble and loss of trade on Preston. In his fury he grabbed an automatic pistol from a shelf and rushed to the door. Attempting to shoot Preston, he failed because he did not understand the mechanism of the gun. Again trying to shoot, Preston luckily having his gun with him, shot in self-defense. Silva was wounded and later he died from the wounds. Preston surrendered to the authorities, giving the true and corroborated version of the incident. But the Mine Owners' Association and Citizens' Alliance immediately seized the opportunity to railroad Preston to jail, and they imagined they would destroy thereby the organization of the workers.

Consistent with its past record was it also that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. immediately set to work to prove again its reputation as a smash-up machine of any effort to bring the workers together for the immediate struggle of all within capitalist society, and the economic resources of the world by the producers of all wealth, when they noted the manifestations of sympathy with the Industrial Unionists throughout the country. Hear again what the American Federationist had to say in the March, 1905, issue, after the Western Federation of Miners had promised its co-operation in the task of forming a real economic organization of the workers:

"It may not be uninteresting to note that President Meyer and Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners, have joined the coteries in the call for this new effort to destroy the labor movement. Mark well, it's the Western Federation of Miners, towards whose cause the members and the unions of the American Federation of Miners contributed thousands upon thousands of dollars, as a result of our appeal and visits from the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners. We do not believe that either Mr. Meyer or Mr. Haywood represent in this their latest acts either the wishes or the purposes of the rank and file of the Western Federation of Miners; as a matter of fact the disruptive tactics which they have given their names and their services have been pursued with the consent of the membership either at a convention or by referendum."

Jos. Smith, who was previous to this Secretary of the Union, was also arrested at the behest of the Mine Owners' Association. He was charged with conspiracy. Later on eight others were arrested on the same charge.

Preston and Smith went to trial. They had to be convicted. It was the order of the capitalists. False witnesses had to be secured. The prosecuting attorney permitted deliberate perjury to be committed. The jury was packed with men who perjured themselves to get on the jury.

Three ex-convicts, bank robbers, as proven by their records, were summoned to give perjured testimony. Ex-henchmen detectives, perjured themselves by giving the story that they were partners to a conspiracy. In short, the manufacture of perjured evidence in itself revealed a ghastly crime of the real conspirators—the Mine Owners' Association and their allies.

The eight other men, although held on the same charges on which Smith and Preston were convicted, were released. The capitalist conspirators did not dare to put them to trial because they feared the exposures of their nefarious plot, since the criminal records of their chief witnesses had been exposed. But two men had been sent to jail on the perjured testimony of the allies of the Mine Owners and the Citizens' Alliance.

But, workers of America, you should not permit this outrage to pass unnoticed.

You must come to the rescue of these two men and get their freedom for them. You can spoil the nefarious game of the exploiters and oppressors in did it in the Haywood-Meyer-Petition case. You can do it over again.

There will be mass meetings during the exciting days of political campaign. Thousands of workers will assemble. They should be made acquainted with the facts, and their powerful voice, indicative of preparation for action, can be raised in behalf of these two men.

Every worker who gets hold of a circular should combine with others for a solemn protest. The voices of thousands assembled in mass meetings should be condensed in ringing protest resolutions to be sent to the Governor and the court authorities of Nevada. Money collected for the defense should be sent to Denver, Colo., Railroad Building, Room 605, "Preston-Smith Defense Fund." In short, all efforts should be made to liberate these two members of the working class.

Fellow-workers, now it the time to act! Don't shirk your duties! On to work!

Demand freedom for Joseph Smith and M. R. Preston of Goldfield, Nev.

### The Workers' Solidarity.

Whenever workers of the East and West alike contributed towards the support of the W. F. of M. it was done in open defiance of the secret order emanating from the offices of the A. F. of L. headquarters and national unions, it was done because the western miners had loyally aided other workers, irrespective of their affiliation, in their skirmishes with the employing class.

No thanks are due to the leaders and high officials of the craft union organizations, and when they today, and at this convention again will endeavor to pull the wool over your eyes, you should remember and be reminded of the census that separated you twelve years ago from the American Federation of Labor, you should review once more over that long period and analyze the differences in principles and methods, which antedated some of the official acts by which the Western Federation of Miners, in full accord with the views of all progressive forces in this land, declared that the American Federation of Labor is not a "labor organization."

### The United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners.

Great efforts are being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to effect an amalgamation, or an agreement by which the lines of jurisdiction are to be settled for ever, and the Western Federation of Miners be prevented from organizing other mine workers on their plan of organization and on the fundamental principles as laid down in the constitution of the United Mine Workers in the previous constitution adopted at the convention last year.

No matter what may be the outcome of these overtures and negotiations this fact stands clearly proven before the wage workers of this country, that the United Mine Workers in all their operations are an auxiliary to the coal operators' organization, both are interdependent, so as to be able to prevent the mine workers from disturbing the enforced peaceable relations by which the mine owners are able to dictate the terms of employment, and punish those who may foster and indulge in rebellious thought and action.

We produce only as sample of a notorious slavery pact, the clause of the Illinois agreement, which subjects the mine worker, industrially and politically, to the serfdom imposed by the exploiters with the aid and support of the United Mine Workers of America.

### The Slavery Pact.

"Any member or members of the U. M. W. of America guilty of throwing a mine idle or materially reducing the output by failure to continue at work in accordance with the provisions of this agreement, shall be fined ten dollars (\$10.00) each.

"All fines collected as above shall be paid, one-half to the state treasurer of the U. M. W. of America, and one-half to the treasurer of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, and under no consideration shall any fines so collected be refunded.

"All violations shall be reported immediately, and an investigation shall be made at once by the state officers of the two organizations. A decision shall be promptly made and the fine checked off and paid as provided above.

"This contract is based upon existing mining laws, and neither party to the contract shall initiate or encourage the passage of laws that would in any manner affect the obligations of this contract or abrogate its provisions, except as may be mutually agreed to."

### A Warning.

If you miners of the West in any way encourage a joint agreement and go into combination with such an organization, the Western Federation of Miners will lose the last semblance of prestige and esteem that thousands of suffering coal miners had for the organization, because for many years they hoped that the end to throw off the burden would come from the Western Federation of Miners, or organizations cooperating with them. True, by an arrangement on such lines as hoped for by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers you may purchase temporary peace for the W. F. of M., even gain temporarily in members, but the price paid would be appalling to the world, and where still respect and esteem prevails it will change to curses and condemnation by the outraged slaves of the mine who are preparing to smash the machine by which they are kept in abject slavery and all their efforts at organizing on advanced lines crushed through the combination of officials of the so-called unions with the owners of the mines.

If the Western Federation of Miners prostitute themselves for the perpetration of such an act, then, of course, the persecutions will be stopped because your best and most progressive members will be relegated to the rear, and cease to be active for fear that the same treatment will be accorded them as is

today meted out to all rebels in the United Mine Workers of America, who have to either submit or starve.

### What of the Industrial Workers of the World?

Great, as we said, was the enthusiasm among the workers when the Industrial Workers of the World with your co-operation was set on foot. But equally strong were the efforts of the capitalists and their allies to inject the germ of disintegration into the organization when it was formed. It is not the time to repeat now the causes leading to the rupture after the second convention had performed its labor and imposed as the crude instrument that formed the working basis of the organization in the first year. But it matters much that the determined, progressive and overwhelming majority of delegates spoiled all previous plans conjured up in different places to stifle the revolutionary program and activity of the organization, and make it subservient to the whim and commands of designing politicians and political parties.

The economic organization, without affiliation with any political party, revolutionary in its program, revolutionary in its aims, revolutionary in its methods and propaganda, was really the result only of the deliberations of that second convention, and what eruptions have taken place and will take place, they are only the evaporations of a mass in fermentation and in a formative period, apparently disastrous but only temporarily, and for the good of the organization, as the solid substance pregnant with the cells for the new society, will form itself and be impregnable against the attacks and onslaughts of the disorganizers. We say now that the outrageous procedure for the control of the second convention was a premeditated affair engineered by the enemies of the working class and the capitalists.

For the actions of the second convention no apology is due to anybody. It was a necessity born by the iron logic of events, and developments up to this day have vindicated those who saved the Industrial Workers of the World from the disastrous jump into the pitfalls prepared by evil designers.

### The I. W. W. True to Its Standards.

Opposition, fierce and obstinate, was the milestone of continuous advance in the days of ascendancy of the Industrial Workers of the World. Opposition from the combined forces thriving best when the workers are most oppressed, was the stimulus for almost overstrained activity in the ranks of the true industrial unionists.

That opposition was the best thermometer of progress; the attacks by the many enemies indicated that the capitalists were vigilantly following the trails of the organization, in fear that its work would ripen into actions the aroused feelings and solidarity of the workers.

"An organization to rally the workers around the standard in the days when life of men will be the only price for peace and harmony for the capitalists." In these words Haywood himself had outlined the immediate functions of the organization which the W. F. of M. helped to form.

It was done,—that function was performed, sooner as the progress than the selves anticipated,—in the days when they were in clutches of their foes. The Industrial Workers of the World suspended all its other work, it arranged immediately the campaign for systematic organization, and concerted action of all those who could be depended on to sacrifice their own well being for the cause of those who are longing and striving for better days for the class of down trodden, and who realize that individuals are made the targets of attacks only because of the cause that is personified in them.

Read the papers of those days over again,—all the venom, and the slander of the combined enemies of the working class,—some so-called Socialist paper not excluded,—were poured out on those who had raised the banner of revolt against the capitalist conspirators of the West and the East. And for its fearless attitude in the critical days the Industrial Workers of the World were more feared and hated than any other institution designed to advance the interests of the working class. To destroy the organization was worth while the efforts of the shrewdest of henchmen in the service of the exploiting class. The event at the second convention marked the culminating point of the concerted efforts on the part of the powerful foes to silence the voices of those who had first spoken.

Aroused by the storm of indignation that swept all over the country and the civilized world, the proletarians once aroused drew by the force of their protests into the current those who were then and are today, although engaged as friends, though the labor lieuten-

Continued on page 2.

"Taken from the 'Notebook of Speeches and Arguments,' delivered in the I. U. M. Conference.

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### WHY FARM HELP IS HARD TO GET.

One reason why the West has greater difficulty than usual this year in obtaining farm hands to help in gathering the harvest may be found in a bulletin just issued by the bureau of immigration at Washington.

The bureau reports that nearly 500,000 laborers have left the United States since last October, returning to their homes in Europe. The weekly average of departures during the month of May was 17,000. During the first four months of this year 239,010 laborers went back to Europe, compared to 96,731 for the same period of 1907.

In addition to this drain on the labor supply, the bureau says, the number of immigrants who arrived in this country in the first four months of this year was only 124,392, as compared with 404,332 who landed between January and June of last year. The net loss to the labor supply for the four months was 114,618, while the loss since last October will be in excess of 250,000.

Nevertheless, the number of men out of employment in the large cities even now, when prosperity has begun to return, should be great enough to guarantee farmers abundance of help. Railroad fare is paid to the fields, and good wages are earned while the work is in progress, which will be for at least four months.

Unemployed men in Chicago, seeing no chance of returning to work here this summer, cannot do no better than to go to the country, where they will be welcomed.—Chicago News Editorial.

No, Dear, the unemployed men in Chicago—there being about 50,000 at the present time—will not be deceived by the sweet songs of the capitalist sheets to leave the city so to relieve the pressure that is hanging over the heads of those who live in luxury and abundance from the great surplus wealth created by the now jobless workers. The farm owners think they can get cheaper labor on account of the industrial depression. But the very fact that workingmen, despite privation and want, refuse to be lured by the promise of free transportation to the harvest fields and good wages, which are seldom paid, is an assuring indication that even the hungry will not submit to the degrading conditions that the owners of farm lands think they can impose upon the workers, because of the guarantee to the farmers that they can always replenish the vacancies from the abundance of idle workers in the industrial centers.

Industrial union propaganda has done its share to open the eyes of many who formerly were deceived by the alluring promises of the sharks and agents of the farm land owners.

The organization of farm workers, however, is one of the pressing needs of our days. The organization, which would embrace the constantly shifting and floating element that comprises every summer and fall the big army of harvest workers, must be brought into existence, an organization that will exert its influence not only in the few months while thousands are exploited during the harvest days, but which will be a permanent institution and establish the connections between the factory, mill and mine workers and the farm hands, for the purpose of preparing them all for the change of ownership of the means of production and distribution, which would include also the land from which originally flows the stream which enables the production of wealth in abundance, produced by the interrelated groups of workers, and which should also pass from private and monopoly ownership into control and co-operative ownership of the organized wealth producers, organized in an organization on the industrial field—the Industrial Workers of the World.

### THE PANIC—IS IT A "MANUFACTURED" ONE?

By Bryan T. Wallach.

The question raised by Covington Hall, in the Industrial Union Bulletin of June 27, "Is It a 'Manufactured' Panic?", is more important than it seems at first glance. Some of the readers of the Bulletin may be tempted to exclaim, "Why speculate as to the cause of the panic? It is here, so that ends it." This view is erroneous, for the fact that the panic is here by no means ends it. Furthermore, failure to ascertain and make known the cause of the panic will lead to many mistakes on the part of the working class. This must be avoided, if possible.

To presume that the panic is a "manufactured" one is to play into the hands of the radical bourgeois and retard the social revolution. It is a noteworthy fact, in connection with the panics of this country, that the "manufactured" theory has been conspicuous in most of them, and has been invariably used by the radical bourgeois to win the working class to the support of itself and the capitalism for which it stands. In the thirties of the last century, the panic of that decade was said to have been "manufactured" by the United States Bank, for the purpose of defeating the reelection of Andrew Jackson, who used the theory to good political advantage. After 1873, "Wall St." and "the protected interests" were accused by the Greenbackers and the Democrats, with having "manufactured" the panic of that year for the purpose of propping the demonization of silver and destroying the remaining vestiges of free trade. They, too, used the theory to good political advantage. The panic of 1893 was no exception to the general rule: It was said to have been "manufactured" to head off the rising tide of Populism, which, when amalgamated with Bryanism in 1896, made the most of the theory. And now come La Follette, Hearst and the other radical bourgeois tribes, declaring that the present panic is "manufactured" by the ultra-capitalists and trusts. Again are the members of the working

class—and arguments in favor of his opposition to the "manufactured" theory will not be amiss, just now. In the New York Times Annual Financial Review of Jan. 6, 1908, there appeared a noteworthy article, the best, in the opinion of the writer, from a capitalist standpoint that has yet appeared in public print, entitled, "An Analysis of the Phases of the American Crisis." The author is Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, editor of "L'Economiste Francais." He attributes the American crisis to two causes: first, lack of capital; second, to the peculiar monetary system in vogue here. The former he regards as "the great cause"; the latter is of less importance. Leroy-Beaulieu argues that the demand for capital to finance gigantic American enterprises came just at the time "when the world was still constructing its wounds after the Russian-Japanese war, in reconstructing all the machinery it destroyed during that war, in repairing all the losses which it then endured. Moreover, it coincided also with the excessively costly work of reconstructing the cities of San Francisco and Valparaiso, and of rebuilding earthquake-stricken cities in the United States. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the United States was unable to find, either at home or abroad, the immense capital of which it was in need."

"That," continuing the French bourgeois economist, "was the great cause of the American crisis. They disregarded the axiom that capital limits industry. What happened was bound to happen. Capital, having become insufficient for industrial expansion and industrial creation, industry had to stop and restrict itself."

The economic philosophy of Leroy-Beaulieu need not be taken seriously. Crises, as the French bourgeois economist says, "are the result of the law of the market." The economic "changes" happen as a superabundant capital. Industry is limited, not by capital, but the capitalist class, which robs labor of its product and brings on the necessity for restriction. What should be taken seriously, however, is the statement of fact which the French bourgeois economist presents. This fully supports Covington Hall's position, as it shows the conditions making for panic to have been world-wide and foreign long before the actual occurrence of the latter. Those who have good recollections, will recall with what relief, on the part of the capitalists of the world, the "Peace of Portsmouth" was concluded; as it was generally believed among men that a continuation of the Russo-Japanese war would have precipitated international bankruptcy and revolution. It was not long thereafter that the first indications of the present storm began to manifest themselves, in many parts of the world, notably in Germany, Japan and the United States, the necessity for "retrenchment" and "a recession of industry" became a topic of much financial discussion and newspaper inter-vueing. In the early spring of 1906, "Money" Magazine called attention to the turn in the tide of "prosperity." "The recession" was quickly going on in many industries, notably in railroad, electrical construction of all kinds, the mining, engineering, when the Morse-Hoover failure and the Knickerbocker Trust Co.—to drop into the colloquial—let all hell loose—the crisis was upon us in all its destructive phases.

That the members of the middle class should be "trampled," i. e., forced to the wall and their property confiscated, in the guise of a bankrupt sale, by their big rivals in capitalism, is but one of the many minor incidents in a crisis, which are the consequence of political and economic crises of "the job," which are heard on all sides—even on the side of the "elite" revolutionists. But these secondary effects are not to be taken for the primary cause. That, Covington Hall makes evident, is the inability of the working class to back \$2,500 in wealth, with \$500 in wages, because it is robbed of the difference by the capitalist class through the private ownership of capital.

As the economy says, panics are here to stay, until the working class organizes into the Industrial Workers of the World and ends them by ending the system which causes them. But the workers will not do that, so long as they are in the quagmire of reaction by blind revolutionists.

All hail to Covington Hall, then, for making the important question, "Is It a 'Manufactured' Panic?"

He bidden better than he knew!

### THE WORKING CLASS FAITH IN ITSELF.

No greater obstacle confronts the organizer of labor than the persistent failure of workingmen to believe in themselves, in the power of that fellowship which they know well sweetens and renders endurable the hardest day of their lives.

Suspicion against officials, pessimism, bred of repeated experience of graft, thereby conspire to weaken the strong desire for united action, which we believe is latent in every genuine workingman and workingwoman.

To all who feel this distrust it should be sufficient to point out that the greatest task of history, namely, the organization of the working class into a form that will be the embryo of the future society was found in the nature of things to have its course marked with many, with tropic, heart-breaking discussions and betrayals. But, like the infant Hercules, its many labors will look like the magnificent road of triumph when seen from the other end. Without these resistances and complications, the brain of the working class would be a pool, dependent, receptive, non-creative thing, fit only for suggestions and creations of the master class to work their will upon and enslave their own concepts and ideals deep and unreluctant.

Consider that it is hardly fifty years since working class economic laws have been formulated, and only twenty-five since anything like press action on class struggle lines has been possible, and there is cause for jubilation rather than dismay. We are only sharpening our weapons, fellow workers, and we want every man to be a true revolutionary blade, clear in his economic position, clear in political understanding, uncompromising in the objective, industrial freedom, and ever priming

himself in the duties that belong to a constructive socialist republican.

And that faith in each other, what better, what other religion does any worker need than a cordial geared acquaintance and friendly referendum with all who have accepted our principles. Let us clear ourselves as far as we can from lingering suspicion and from all self-seeking. Our first duty is to the cause. Our will must joyfully merge in the general will of the comrades. Eternal consultation must be our watchword, and leaders and officials must, at the risk of degrading and delaying our cause, seek continually the fellowship and mental conference of the members.

If Christianity, which was pivoted upon the eagerness of the individual to gain a happy entrance into the unseen, required for its propaganda every kind of human faculty, and was in fact at its core a workingclass revolt, how much more ought we, whose objective is happiness, here in an industrial commonwealth, to look for organizers, orators, writers and an invincibly loyal class-conscious army? The solidarity, the living hope of fellowship and the message of Industrial Unionism. With us is the hope of the world, and no standard, personal or common, can be too good for the soldiers of the revolution.

A COMRADE.

### THIS IS THE REAL THING.

Kalispel, Mont., June 29, 1908.

To the Officers and Members of all Craft Unions of Kalispel, Montana: Fellow Workers:—

At our last regular meeting the matter was brought up, whether or not Local No. 421 of the I. W. W. would turn out in the parade on the 4th of July, and after considerable discussion it was unanimously decided to not parade, and a committee of three was elected for the purpose of writing to all the unions of Kalispel, and setting forth our reasons for such action, and especially to make plain to the different unions that we were in the parade, that our actions must not in any way be construed to mean that we are antagonistic to any body of workers, as we would be willing and pleased to parade with the members of any union on the proper day and which is recognized throughout (what is known as) the civilized world, the first day in May, International Labor Day.

The members of Kalispel Local No. 421 do not feel that they have anything in the shape of Freedom, Independence, or Equality, to celebrate on the 4th of July, as any one of these sacred words have long since been buried under a system that breeds trusts and millionaires at the one end, and troops and starving slaves at the other.

When we hear the words, "American Freedom" mentioned, our memory immediately takes us to the men who sold Arizona, Nevada, and California, where loyal I. W. W. men are serving long sentences, so that the wrath of an idle gang of parasites can be appeased; neither have we forgotten the bull pens of Idaho and Colorado, where men are treated worse than dogs, and deprived of this much boasted freedom, for months and years at a stretch, again to satisfy the master class of this country.

For the love that we bear for the workers of America, the have been slaughtered by the militia and other paid thugs wearing the uniform of the United States, because they have dared to raise their voice in the interest of freedom, we must on those grounds, if for no others, declare our solidarity with the State Militia. The I. W. W. men in Nevada and Alaska who are at this time being herded, while seals are being protected by soldiers, will not be found in the parades on the fourth of July with them, the soldiers, unless we be that they are being driven to some bullpen with bayonets, and we must be loyal to our comrades and not disgrace them.

The I. W. W. stands for freedom in the fullest sense of the word, and for freedom for a few and misery for the many, but freedom for all; and in view of these set principles and high ideals of our organization, we cannot at this or any time compromise with slavery, by celebrating something that we do not possess.

Our Reading and Club Rooms will be open in a few days, and we take this opportunity of extending to all your members the free use of the rooms on equality with our own.

With best wishes and for a more united front in the near future of all wage earners, we are,

Yours for Real Freedom,

J. CHAPMAN, D. BURNBY, FRED W. HESLEWOOD, Committee.

### NOTICE!

To All Members of Local No. 419, Redlands, Cal., Now Outside of Redlands.

H. S. Carroll, Financial Secretary of Local 419, Redlands, Cal., is still on hand to receive dues, and wishes to inform all members within the jurisdiction of said local that his address is P. O. Box 357, Redlands, Cal., and also requests all members to send him their names and addresses, so that he can inform them of anything of importance pertaining to their local.

H. S. CARROLL, Fin. Sec., Local 419, Redlands, Cal.

### CORRECTION.

Fellow Worker Louis Pleavet of Lawrence, Mass., who was secretary of the Convention of French Branches held there May 30 and 31, writes me that there is a serious error in my report in the Bulletin.

That is: That the motion as adopted of an amendment, with a minimum of one vote per member, whereas a French Branch is involved in a strike, should read, whenever any I. W. W. Local is on strike.

FRANCOIS MILLER. Get subscribers for the Industrial Union Bulletin.

### ORGANIZERS' ACCOUNTS.

#### BILLS OF AND PAYMENTS TO B. H. WILLIAMS SINCE THE 1907 CONVENTION.

	Salary.	Mileage.	Hotel and Meals.	Misc.	Total.
Oct. 5 to 12th.....	\$10.00	\$ 8.35	\$ 1.00	.....	\$ 19.35
Oct. 12 to 26th.....	.....	2.30	14.00	.....	16.30
Oct. 26 to Nov. 2.....	10.00	7.30	7.75	.....	25.05
Nov. 9.....	.....	.....	7.00	\$ .50	7.50
Nov. 16.....	10.00	1.50	4.50	3.00	19.00
Nov. 23.....	1.50	1.00	6.00	.....	7.00
Nov. 30.....	10.00	12.00	2.00	.....	24.00

Dec. 7.....	10.00	.50	.....	.....	\$118.20
Dec. 14.....	10.00	3.85	2.00	.....	15.85
Dec. 21.....	.....	5.60	.....	.....	5.60
Dec. 28.....	10.00	.....	2.00	.50	12.50

January 1, railroad fare, New York to Philadelphia.....	\$ 44.45
January 11, board and lodging, 12 days.....	2.25
January 11, railroad fare, Philadelphia to New York.....	2.25
Carfare, 20 days.....	2.00
Board and lodging to February 1st.....	14.00
Postage.....	.50
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$28.50</b>

February 15, railroad fare, New York to Philadelphia.....	\$ 2.25
February 21, meals and lodging, Philadelphia.....	4.00
February 21, railroad fare, Philadelphia to New York.....	2.25
February 23, expense to Newark and return.....	.50
February 25, meals and lodging, New York.....	10.00
February 28, meals, New York, 20 days.....	10.00
February 29, carfare, 20 days.....	2.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$31.00</b>

Week ending	Mileage.	Hotel.	Misc.	Total.
March 7.....	\$1.80	\$7.00	\$0.25	\$9.05
March 14.....	.95	7.00	.....	7.95
March 21.....	.80	7.00	.25	8.05
March 28.....	.70	7.00	.....	7.70

Bills for October and November.....	\$118.20
Bills for December.....	44.45
Bills for January.....	28.50
Bills for February.....	31.00
Bills for March.....	32.75
<b>Total bills.....</b>	<b>\$254.90</b>

#### AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY B. H. WILLIAMS SINCE 1907 CONVENTION.

Oct. 4.....	By cash.....	\$20.00
Oct. 31.....	By cash.....	10.00
Oct. 12 to 26.....	Received from Cincinnati locals.....	3.30
Oct. 26 to Nov. 2.....	Received for literature and subscriptions.....	4.20
.....	Received from Cincinnati locals.....	15.00
.....	Received from Hamilton locals.....	5.00
.....	Collected at Buena Vista.....	2.42
.....	Collected at Blythe.....	1.00
.....	Collected at Gaffney.....	10.00
.....	Literature sold.....	2.45
.....	Subscriptions.....	6.00
Nov. 23.....	Received from Local No. 215.....	17.00
Nov. 30.....	Received from Local No. 30.....	10.00
.....	Literature and subscriptions.....	9.95

Dec. 7.....	Received from Portsmouth.....	\$127.26
.....	Subscriptions for week.....	4.50
Dec. 14.....	Subscriptions for week.....	2.25
.....	Received from Newport News.....	20.00
.....	Received from Richmond.....	4.00
.....	Subscriptions for week.....	4.00
.....	Literature.....	.15

Jan. 1.....	Received for subscriptions.....	\$31.40
.....	Literature sold.....	\$ 1.00
.....	Received from W. E. Trautmann.....	10.00
Jan. 8.....	Received from I. W. W. men, Philadelphia.....	3.00
Jan. 10.....	Received from Philadelphia Industrial Council.....	5.00
Jan. 15.....	Received from Philadelphia I. W. W.....	3.00
Jan. 25.....	Received from New York District Council.....	10.00
Jan. 29.....	Received from subscription cards.....	1.25
.....	Received for subscription cards in December.....	4.75

Feb. 7.....	To cash.....	\$43.55
Feb. 14.....	To cash.....	5.00
.....	To cash.....	15.00

Mar. 14.....	To cash.....	\$20.00
.....	To cash.....	\$15.00
Mar. 23.....	To cash.....	30.00
.....	To cash.....	20.00

Apr. 7.....	To cash.....	\$65.00
Apr. 13.....	To cash.....	\$15.00
.....	To cash.....	5.00

June 13.....	To cash.....	\$20.00
.....	To cash.....	\$ 1.25

Received in October and November.....	\$127.26
Received in December.....	34.00
Received in January.....	33.55
Received in February.....	20.00
Received in March.....	65.00
Received in April.....	20.00
Received in June.....	1.25

Total amount received.....	\$394.46
Total bills put in.....	254.90
<b>Balance.....</b>	<b>\$ 139.56</b>

#### BILLS OF J. J. ETOR SINCE 1907 CONVENTION.

Rat. due after convention.	Mileage.	Hotel.	Printing, etc.	Misc.	Total.
Oct. 22.....	.....	7.25	.....	.....	\$ 7.25
October 22.....	11.95	.....	.....	.....	11.95
October 23.....	4.50	.....	.....	.....	4.50
October 28.....	8.00	.....	.....	.....	8.00

November 6.....	4.25	.75	.....	.....	\$ 5.00
November 12 to November 19.....	2.50	.50	.....	.....	3.00

February 19 for November 16, 20.20.....	2.40	.....	.....	.....	\$ 2.40
Week ending November 28.....	7.40	1.40	.....	.....	8.80
Week ending November 29.....	.75	8.20	.....	.....	8.95
Week ending December 1.....	12.15	8.35	.....	.....	20.50
Week ending December 14.....	18.15	7.45	.....	.....	25.60
Week ending December 21.....	7.20	.....	.....	.....	7.20
Week ending December 28.....	8.70	7.45	.....	.....	16.15
Week ending January 4.....	8.25	.....	.....	.....	8.25
Week ending January 11.....	7.80	1.20	.....	.....	9.00
Week ending January 18.....	7.55	1.50	.....	.....	9.05
Week ending January 25.....	7.25	2.10	.....	.....	9.35

<b>Total bills since convention.....</b>	<b>\$228.25</b>
<b>Total payments since convention.....</b>	<b>\$118.20</b>
<b>Balance due.....</b>	<b>\$ 110.05</b>

#### PAYMENTS MADE TO J. J. ETOR SINCE 1907 CONVENTION.

Sept. 27 To cash.....	\$20.00
Oct. 11 To cash.....	8.45
Oct. 22 To cash.....	8.25
Oct. 23 To cash.....	4.50
Oct. 28 To cash.....	8.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$ 51.20</b>

Nov. 6 To cash.....	\$ 5.40
Nov. 9 To cash.....	25.00
Nov. 12 To cash.....	24.00
Jan. 7 To cash.....	2.80
Jan. 15 To cash.....	119.10
Mar. 21 To cash.....	27.00
June 5 To cash.....	6.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$241.90</b>

#### STAY AWAY—NO WORK IN THE FRUIT PICKING INDUSTRY.

There has been a sudden crash in the cantaloupe market, hundreds of workers are being laid off. Small farmers are driven into the corner; only the big ones are holding their own. Don't be deceived by employment agencies. There's no work, and no chance that things will pick up.

JOHN FANCER.



# WHICH WAY YOUR TRAVEL—FORWARD OR BACKWARD?

Continued from page 1.

ants of the master class, the worst enemies that the working class movement has to reckon with. Not that they liked to be in the procession of aroused workers, but because this turn of affairs and their silly pretext of support, gave them the best opportunity to do the bidding of the master class by preventing an organized attempt to bring the workers together on the program of the I. W. W., so that the capitalists would not dare to repeat the attempts to railroad to the gallows and into the prisons those whom the workers may elect as their spokesmen and functionaries.

In behalf of those many who are true and loyal to the working class and their efforts to throw off the yoke of wage slavery we must repeat:

"An organization must be constructed and preserved, strong in its principles, by the elements comprising it, that will rally around its standards all the workers so to ward off by its commanding activity any attempts to murder and kill under judicial sanction members of the working class."

Having received the "Invitation to a Reconstruction Convention," an invitation which the I. W. W. declined to accept for reasons mentioned in the Bulletin, we are left with the question as to whether or not the principles enunciated in the manifesto must inevitably be the forerunner of another rupture and disaster, because the working class although still groping here and there in the dark, are beginning to see the light, and fortunately for the movement they are learning to judge men and organizations by actions, and will not accept mere declarations as evidence that the action and methods will be in conformity therewith. When the Industrial Workers of the World refuses to reconcile with elements which make for future discord and compromise on principles, and on its program, it is offering a basis for imitation which followed your own directions by disregarding the interests of individuals, and presenting the fundamental question of human work for the betterment of the wealth producers could be assured.

Read these propositions, investigate the facts, and you will find every point is based and founded on the basis of the working class movement of America and the world:

## Basis for Unification.

First—All present executive officers of either the Industrial Workers of the World, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, the International Union of United Brewery Workmen and the National Association of Lithographers, or any other organization participating in the convention, must sign a pledge that they will resign from their positions and not accept re-election in any capacity as executive officer, nor stand for election as executive officer or organizer in the organization to be formed or any of the bodies represented and installed; neither shall any of the incumbents in any executive office of either of the aforesaid bodies accept an office in the organizations or a commission as salaried organizer for a term of at least five years.

Second—The organization to be formed must repudiate the sacred contract, check-off systems and excessive time systems; no "industrial autonomy" subterfuge shall prevent the full exposure and disciplining of organization where such appalling systems are in operation.

Third—No man or woman shall be permitted to accept a position as either executive officer or organizer of the general union, or a subordinate office thereof (this includes all national and local offices), unless he or she is fully conversant with the facts and principles of the class struggle and endorse the program that the CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY AND CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT MUST BE SUPPLANTED BY THE INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDUSTRY BY THE ORGANIZED WORKER.

Fourth—Any executive officer who is interested in any actual partnership or beneficiary in the proceeds of any institution in which wage workers are exploited shall forfeit all rights and privileges in the organization to be formed.

Fifth—No general executive officer of the organization, or parts thereof, or any salaried organizer shall be permitted to accept any position in any political organization, nor shall they be allowed to accept nominations for any political office, except permission is granted by a referendum vote of the membership of the entire organization.

Sixth—All craft union labels, with no exception, must be repudiated as being instruments to keep the workers divided, and tending to establish graft union monopolies on the basis of a mutual understanding between manufacturers and craft union leaders.

Seventh—All transactions of the executive officers of the organization or subordinate parts thereof shall be carried on with full knowledge by the membership; rituals, passwords, secret signs, compulsory burial ceremonies, and in operation in the United Mine Workers, shall be repudiated and abolished.

## The Proposition Analyzed.

The Executive Board of the I. W. W. of M. proposed that all officers of the I. W. W. resign their positions before entering into the reconstruction convention, and in return the I. W. W. proposed that the same rule be applied to all officers of the other organizations that were expected to participate.

Point 2—if an injury to one is an injury to all, which the I. W. W. proclaims as one of its strongest tenets, then it is equally true that the injury to one is an injury to all, and the effects of such measures as enumerated in Proposition No. 2 on one portion of the working class should become the concern of all workers, and they are entitled to know the causes of such injuries and be able to apply the remedy.

Point 3—if the organization which is founded on the principle that there is a class struggle going on in today's society and can only be ended by re-

moving the cause, it stands to reason that those who are to be the functionaries of an organization must be restrained from compromising with institutions designed to perpetuate this system of society. No better illustration could be given than the present occupation of Chas. O. Sherman and C. G. Kirkpatrick whom some of your officers supported in their nefarious work in 1906, both being now in the employ of a political party of the capitalist class precluding the identity of interests between the workers and the shirkers, after the fragment of an association which was held together partly with W. F. of M. money, had disbanded and after they had sold all the property that was bought with the money of workingmen.

An organization of workers must be protected against such a conduct of its functionaries, and for these reasons the propositions as under Point 3 were suggested.

Point 4—Well proven was it that former officers of the I. W. W. and officers of the W. F. of M. were participants in institutions of prostitution, Sherman in the Fraternity Supply Co., Chas. H. Mahoney in a wild cat mine in Goldfield, and it was known that officers of other organizations invited had also interests in profit-making concerns, and that such transactions were of their individual concern as their title as officers of labor organization was not involved in these dealings, can not be accepted by an organization. These members are placed to work for the abolition of a system under which institutions are conducted for profit-making alone, and men who have interests in such enterprises can not be trusted to work and strive to do away with them.

All other points in the answer have been more or less discussed in your own conventions, and in fact, you have taken favorable action on many a question embodied in the propositions. A further analysis is therefore superfluous.

## CONCLUSION.

In these "Words of Workers to Workers" we have given the opinions of those who have gone through the movement as exemplified in the Industrial Workers of the World, and the matters not how they will be accepted by those to whom they are addressed. But there are thousands who are today eagerly watching in what direction the Western Federation of Miners will turn, whether the organization will face in its determination the common enemies of the working class and make common cause with all others who are lining up to fight on until the aim, that is the industrial freedom of the workers, has been achieved, or whether you will retreat and join the forces of those who are holding the workers back from organizing on advanced lines and dividing them from the industrial as well as social field. These thousands, who are upholding the principles of industrial unionism will continue to wage war against all institutions supporting the capitalist class, they will continue to arouse the workers and prepare them for constructive work, they will not be dismayed nor will they be discouraged if you turn in your lot with the craft union movement, but if you become true to the principles which have been the foundation of the industrial unionism in which you once were co-operators, then the road of the advancing forces will be easier and the day of labor's victory and triumph draw nearer. What way will you travel, forward or backward?

## ALL HONOR TO THE SHERIFF OF LUZERNE COUNTY.

Who does not remember the day when a posse of constables, commanded by Sheriff Martin of Luzerne County, turned their guns against a body of workmen peacefully marching on the highways, and who gave the order to shoot to kill? Who will ever forget the brazen words of the New York Sun praising the slaughter of workers as a heroic act? Yes, the eulogy, "All honor to the Sheriff of Luzerne County," should have been ever in the memories of the working class, as an anticipation what they may expect from the capitalist class if they should attack their fortifications in an unprepared state.

History repeats itself. Albert Ryan, the well known industrial unionist of Jerome, was cowardly assailed by a superintendent of a mine. In self-defense he pulled his revolver and shot the aggressor; but he was brought into court on indictment, and although the chief witness himself, the mine superintendent tried to admit that he was the aggressor, the judge pronounced a sentence. Albert Ryan, fearlessly facing the opposition, the judge gave them a bit of his views and hurled defiance into the teeth of the capitalist judge. The judge, furious with rage, then sentenced Ryan to one year's imprisonment, exclaiming that he had never in the memory of his life seen a man so bravely face a slight penalty, but after the characteristic arrangement of the whole system in the court by Ryan he wanted to show him the power of the courts.

The President of the Mine, a corporation owned sheet, runs mad with joy, and in the words of the "Sun" heads an editorial:

## "ALL HONOR TO JUDGE SLOAN."

"A socialist going by the name of Albert Ryan, secretary of the Jerome Miners' Union, was recently tried before a jury, in the District Court, at Prescott, for having murderously assaulted one Frank Burns, says the Tucson Daily Star. He was found guilty and when asked by Judge Sloan, the presiding justice, the perfunctory question of why sentence should not be passed upon him, burst into an anarchistic tirade against the court, the jury, and society in general. Yielding to the working of a small, weak brain, he shouted 'capitalism is the cause of all our troubles, and the justice of his conviction. With anarchistic froth he further brought the Western Federation of Miners into disrepute if such thing be possible. Haywood, bold and anarchistic as his conduct before which he was arraigned for murder and conspiracy to murder. His fool follower, however, was less wise. The dignity by which an American court of justice is upheld by its terrors for him and he belied forth

his venom after the manner of his kind. Judge Sloan, pale and immovable, quietly heard the fellow through, increased his bond from \$500 to \$2,500, and announced that sentence would be reserved until the court again convened on the following Monday. When again arraigned before him, Judge Sloan quietly reviewed the case, upheld the dignity of the law as it is found on the statute books, and sentenced the fellow to one year in a penitentiary at Yuma. An appeal was taken by his attorney to the Supreme Court, and the case will be heard at its next session. Back room meetings of the Federation may be conducted along the lines Ryan laid down before Judge Sloan, but such anarchistic frothings in court lead directly through the broad gates to the penitentiary."

Praise may be due to the judge by the master class and their mouthpieces, but praise that also save him from the contempt of all workers in that district, and on the place where the lives of workers were sacrificed a grateful generation has erected a monument for the fallen son of toil. "Trade" may be due to Judge Sloan, because he protested his position to work on his spite, but the workers in the mountains of Arizona and everywhere will have only contempt for such a traitor of the mine corporations, and honor the man or men who courageously showed their contempt for all institutions that are used to administer justice but to protect the interests of the idlers and usurpers of the wealth of the nation.

Albert Ryan may be thrown into the dungeon, but this will be a monument of honor for him in the eyes of the working class, and if papers of the Prescott Journal Miner type give a special tribute of praise and honor to the "service judge" it is a sure indication that such a strained effort was needed to appease the wrath of the workers.

They may still challenge the workers with their "All Honor" cries, but when the day of judgment comes, it will be the working class that will cast their voice to whom honor and praise are due.

## STRIKE IN ALASKA.

Editor Bulletin: Seattle, June 21th, 1908. The strike in Alaska is still on. Several local of the Western Federation of Miners have representatives here to turn the tide of emigration away from Alaska. Michael Davis is here from Fairbanks. Lloyd 11th of the W. F. of M. Douglas Island has a committee of three who have been doing good work here. They are: Chris, Purkett, Chas. Nieren and Peter Skullich. These comrades have been co-operating with the I. W. W. and other local labor organizations to turn the tide of strike breakers from Alaska. Among the most humane businesses in Seattle, paying the greatest dividends upon the investment, are the so-called employment of the unemployed, where strike breakers, and "scabs" are recruited, and the most important part of the duty of the Alaska representatives has been spreading working class intelligence on the slave market and here they have met with the tools of the Guggenheims. While Comrade Davis was working on the slave market a couple of weeks ago, advising workers not to go to Alaska, he was shogged by some of the hired thugs around these strike breakers, where they were in conflict with the tools of the Guggenheims. The Western Federation delegates were arrested and hauled before the judge, where they, in getting with the Guggenheim thugs, were allowed to tell their stories. The work of the Guggenheim thugs was so "raw" that the capitalist court released the Federation delegates and fined the Guggenheim thugs. The strike in the Treadwell mine at Douglas Island was called by the Western Federation to demand the eight hours and to have a uniform wage at

the minimum of \$3.50 for all employees. Laborers, prior to the strike, were being paid only \$2.00 per day. These laborers do the rock-crushing work. The miners or the men who handle the machines or machine drills, get \$2.50. Another demand of the Federation is for the Club to be turned over to the Western Federation of Miners or that the fees to keep up the Club be abolished. The Club House was built by the company four years ago and is a common frame building. The Mining Company have assessed every employee \$1.00 per month for the purposes of a club, which means a revenue of \$1,800 per month. The books and accounts in connection with the Club are not open to the inspection of the Western Federation of Miners and heretofore they have had no control over the Club. The Western Federation want control of the hospital also. They are assessed \$1.00 per month to maintain the hospital, which means a revenue of \$2,700 per month for hospital services. They also have the blacklist abolished.

Mr. R. B. Kinzie is the superintendent of the great Treadwell mine. He is of the same "stripe" as the famous Joe McElbould, who assassinated a man in Treadwell a few years ago, and he is probably no less skilled in slugging affairs than Al J. G. Buckley Wells, who, as it is believed everywhere, placed a dynamite bomb under his own house at Telluride, Colorado, exploding it himself and reporting that the explosion occurred while he was in the house in his bed. Shortly after the Douglas Island strike was called, the Federal Government of the United States was asked to send the United States troops to Douglas Island to suppress the strike for the appeal for troops, Kinzie spread the lie that the Western Federation of Miners had stolen 14 boxes of dynamite out of the Treadwell powder magazine. The capitalist president got busy and everybody was afraid the powder body was going to get dynamited, but he served its purpose and the troops were sent in at the request of the mine owners.

To show the absurdity of the story that anyone had stolen any powder, you only need to know how the powder magazine is constructed and guarded. The powder magazine is built in a tunnel in the side of a mountain and the entrance to it is guarded by three solid steel doors. These doors are nine feet apart and the passage way, each door has a combination lock, and at all times there are on guard three faithful gun men. These gun men work eight hours, consequently there are three solid steel doors and three faithful gun men watching this powder magazine.

Another feature in the strike was the city election which was going on about the time the troops were brought in. The Western Federation of Miners pinned in the field a full city ticket. The troops arrived in a week before the election to uphold law and order and to start something if they could. The Western Federation of Miners maintained peace and quietude. The election passed off without any disturbance. The members of the Federation voted the Federation ticket to a man. Western Federation men, together with other citizens, acted as judges and clerks of the election. When the troops arrived in a week before the election to uphold law and order and to start something if they could. The Western Federation of Miners maintained peace and quietude. The election passed off without any disturbance. The members of the Federation voted the Federation ticket to a man. Western Federation men, together with other citizens, acted as judges and clerks of the election. 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## ANOTHER INTERPRETATION.

The publication of the below communications exchanged between parties supporting the I. W. W. unflinchingly and fearlessly advocating its tenets, and others who should be opposed most fiercely, should in no way be construed as if we cared much for the opinions of dignitaries of a church of any denomination. But there has been of late such a radical change of sentiment in matters ecclesiastic, for reasons that the Industrial Unionist should care little for now, although the time may come when it will form an important subject for consideration, that it is worthy of note how some of those who by their stances in these institutions ought to oppose the I. W. W. and its programme, are trying to put a construction on the doctrines of the organization which would be amusing, were it not for the fact that some wisdom after all is found in one of the interpretations. With this explanation we believe the communications will receive the attention which they deserve. The italics in some letters are our own.

St. Paul, June 22, 1908.

Editor of The Bulletin.  
Enclosed in correspondence which passed between my mother and Rev. Daniel E. Hudson, and Rev. John A. Ryan. The former is editor of the "Ave Maria," one of the oldest and most widely circulated Catholic publications; the latter is a professor in the St. Paul Seminary, where priests receive their training.

GEO. T. SPETTEL.

"Rev. John A. Ryan and Rev. Daniel E. Hudson:—As I recognize you as high authority on all matters pertaining to the Catholic religion, and as my son is an enthusiastic member and worker of and for the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization whose object is not only to benefit the present condition of the working class, but to eventually take possession of all capital without compensation to its owners, as you will see in the enclosed preamble of the I. W. W., which in my opinion is simply confusion, I will ask you the question: 'Can a Roman Catholic be a loyal member of the Industrial Workers of the World to the accomplishment of its finality? I will close praying that you will give me your full opinion on this matter.'

"Most respectfully yours,

"MRS. M. SPETTEL."

Answer No. 1.

"Dear Mrs. Spettel:—This preamble does seem to smack both of Socialism and Anarchism.

"Believe me with best wishes.

"Sincerely yours in Christ.

"DANIEL E. HUDSON, C. S. C."

Answer No. 2.

Chicago, June 22, 1908.

"Dear Madam:—Your letter of recent date has reached me here. In answer to your inquiry I will say that if the I. W. W. intends to confiscate capital without compensation to the owners, a Catholic could scarcely be a member of the organization as long as it defended that plan. At least, he could not lawfully continue a member, unless he made some effort to induce the organization to drop that portion of its programme and unless there was some ground for hoping that this would be done.

"However, the clipping that you have enclosed clearly declares that the I. W. W. intends to confiscate private capital. The underlined phrase 'to take and to hold that which they produce by their labor,' probably refers to the wealth that shall be produced after the I. W. W. has reorganized industry, rather than to the wealth and capital that already is in existence at that date. So unless you have some other evidence than that contained in the clipping, I do not think you are warranted in saying that confiscation is intended. I don't know that I can say anything further that could be of use. For my self, the full program of socialism as advocated by the out and out socialists, seems the most extravagant and childish proposal that ever won the adhesion of any number of persons, and I have read about all the arguments and books of all the ablest socialists, but if they would leave out all their nonsense about religion, economic determinism, marriage, etc., no one need be much afraid of socialism in America. It could come so gradually that people could deal with it in installments and it need not make any man neglect his religion. As things are it seems that when most Catholics become socialists they become convinced that they must give up their religion. In 99 cases out of 100 they have not been told so by their parish priest. They must get that idea from their socialist friends and newspapers.

Why is this? It would seem that they are not driven out of the church by the priest, but by something led and irrigations in the organization itself. Herein lies the chief evil of American socialism as I see it.

"Trusting that this communication will have been of some help to you. I remain

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN A. RYAN."

## NEW YORK PROPAGANDA LEAGUE.

The Propaganda League held open-air meetings in New York as follows: Monday evening, July 6th, corner of Second Avenue and 10th Street; Wednesday evening, July 8th, corner 12th Street and 7th Avenue; Friday evening, July 10th, at 5th Street and 8th Avenue. The League will also hold an open-air meeting on Saturday evening, July 11th, at Thompson and Becker streets and one at St. Luke's Place and Hudson Street. During the week of July 12th the above schedule will be repeated, same time and places.

## THE PROPAGANDA LEAGUE.

60 Cooper Square.

Get subscribers for the Industrial Union Bulletin.

## GREAT NORTHERN CRAFT WASH-OUT.

Spokane, June 20, 1908.

On June 5th the Great Northern train was washed out at the Summit, Mont., for three miles east and six miles west. They called out the gangs all over the line between Whitefish and Cut Bank that division. The big rain that had been prevailing had washed out all the clay and mud that was in the track with the rotten ties. We had been working day and night to repair the track with mud and clay. There was an American gang and a Japanese gang. The wages were \$1.50 per day for Americans, \$1.40 for Japs and \$1.35 for Italians. When we got the track patched up, the superintendent ordered us to get cladders to cover up the rotten track and ordered the trains to run at night so that the people on the trains could not see the rotten track. When we had finished this place, the superintendent gave me orders to go to a place named Paola, five miles west of Essex and to Nyeck. Before we reached Nyeck, four N. P. passenger trains and two G. N. passenger trains were caught between two big landslides and a freight train had to lay at one place four days and also passenger trains. It rained hard for three weeks and at one place near Paola a big bank 75 feet high fell two miles long, in fact a whole mountain slid on to the track and keeps on sliding. A steam shovel is working day and night to just get the trains away. When we were working there the superintendent and his assistants were something their heads, thinking that they could repair the track in a short time, and were crazy around the Japs to get them to finish up quick, but the Japs knew that there was lots of wash-out all along the line for a distance of 200 miles. The Japs knew they could get no labor from the outside and being acquainted with them and knowing them to be sensible I explained to them the situation and urged them to get some more pay. They asked 15 hours pay for 10 hours work in the day time and for night work 20 hours' pay for 8 hours' work if the superintendent wanted to fix the track. The company did not care so much about the track, but there was a few carloads of rice for home in a freight train, which had to be fed and cared for and the passengers also had to be fed. I talked to the white men in the gang and told them they could get \$10 a day and \$20 for night if they asked for it and stayed with the Japs, but they were scared to lose their jobs working in the mud and water. After the Japs got what they asked for, the white men came up to me and begged me to give them more hours. I told them that the slave driver would give them anything, except they go into the mud four feet deep and work for the capitalist, 'as you do not want anything for yourself.' After we had patched up the track I went into the cars, and the passenger looking wild asked me, why they could not get through as they had been laying there five days. I preached to them from ear to ear that the capitalist never built the road for use, but for profit. One lady got scared when I told her that the train might get wrecked before the flood or after the first time they began to think about it. They will not be able to thoroughly repair the track this year because they will not employ enough labor as they are losing for profit. After some time there was another washout west of Whitefish and near Havre and if the workers had been organized they could have made the railroads come to their terms. But in this instance the Japs had to show them how to do it.

GEO. FRANKLIN,

Spokane, Wash.

A Slave Driver.

## THE I. W. W. IN AUSTRALIA.

Ever since the launching of the I. W. W. at the famous 1905 Chicago convention, the attention of class conscious wage-workers here has been concentrated upon it; they have watched closely its development with an ever-increasing interest, and as a natural consequence they have been impelled to take action in propagating its principles among their fellow workers as far as their powers would permit; the result up to date is that strong I. W. W. clubs have been formed throughout Australia and also New Zealand.

The purpose of these clubs is to draw together those who are in sympathy with the principles of the I. W. W. with a view to the establishing of an Australian section of the above union, 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.' The first club was started in Sydney, N. S. W., in October 1907, others quickly following throughout Australia; these clubs have carried on a systematic propaganda, and the future is pregnant with results.

The class-struggle thermometer is, at the moment of writing, up to boiling point in this state (New South Wales) and the reason briefly is this: the 'Compulsory Arbitration Act' expires during the current month (a law that was going to lend the workers into the promised land, but which has been unanimously failed to do so), but the capitalist government has passed an 'Industrial Disputes Act,' the chief points of which are the re-enactment (in a more drastic form) of that provision in the Arbitration Act, which makes striking a criminal offense, and carrying imprisonment.

The 'Labor' Council, which represents a majority of the craft unions in the metropolitan district of Sydney, rejects the above new act, and has advised the unionists to rely wholly on the strike. These conditions tend to make it easier for the I. W. W. propaganda and its speakers are being readily listened to.

The northern miners of this state are a very forward body of men, and are readily imbuing I. W. W. principles, and we are expecting great things from them in the near future.

Speaking generally, industrial conditions are very unsettled throughout Australia, and strikes, great and small, unemployed and unrest are everywhere in evidence; we have, in fact, the same conditions (though on much smaller scale) that you are faced with, and the clubs are unanimous on the political question, that is the exclusion of political platforms from the clubs

and therefore from the union when it is started.

The growth and success of the American I. W. W. is being watched very keenly here, and its troubles are not noted, I assure you, and I feel sure that our fellow-workers here will take the lessons they teach to heart, so that the snags they have encountered and overcome may be avoided by us, or recognized for what they really are.

Fellow-worker, the I. W. W. is building up the necessary material conditions to carry on the new order (the Industrial Democracy) and it is the organization that will give the working class a chance to achieve its 'Historic Mission.' Speed the day.

Yours for the Industrial Democracy,  
J. P. NEILL,  
Club Secretary,  
Sydney, N. S. W., Australia.

## RESOLUTIONS

Adopted By Public Service Workers'

Industrial Union No. 315, Industrial Workers of the World, Spokane, Wash., June 20, 1908.

WIERMAN, the Postmaster General of the United States, acting at the command of the employing class, has given an order preventing the use of the United States mails by the publisher of a paper known as 'La Question Sociale,' which paper is devoted to the interests of the working class, and

WIERMAN, the editor of the paper, which was made the occasion of the denial of mailing rights was No. 419, dated March 13, 1908, and

WIERMAN, the reason given by the Postmaster General for this act of tyranny, is that the paper in question is unlawful, and

WIERMAN, This paper, 'La Question Sociale' has always advocated the orderly organizing of the working class to uphold the interests of the working class, and

WIERMAN, This is merely the beginning of the determined attempt of the employing class, to suppress the education of the workers along the line of their class interests, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Public Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 315 of the Industrial Workers of the World, Spokane, Wash., condemn with indignation this cowardly invasion of the rights of the working class, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all members of the working class to help us advertise the Postmaster General of the United States, George von L. Meyer, as a disgrace to human nature and a traitor to the race; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we war against all people of the danger of the entire suppression of the working class press, and that we ask them to unite in a strong organization to fight this and the other numberless tyrannies that they seek to impose upon the working class, and the various journals and papers of the working class for publication.

D. G. GILLERME,

JAM. WILSON,

D. L. BARRETT,

(Seal.) Committee.

## RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF ALBERT ROSS.

St. Louis, July 3, 1908.

Whereas, Fellow Worker Albert Ross, member of Local No. 84, I. W. W. of St. Louis, Mo., met death by being foully murdered near Roswell, N. M., on June 26, 1908, by person or persons unknown up to this time,

Whereas, Such a crime is the direct result of the capitalist system, which makes barbarians out of human beings, and

Whereas, Fellow Worker Ross was an earnest and faithful worker for the cause of industrial unionism and working class emancipation,

Therefore, be it resolved, by Local 84 that we express our deepest regret, of Fellow Worker Ross's untimely and unnatural death,

Resolved, That we extend our warmest sympathy to Fellow Worker Ross's friends and relatives in their bereavement, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this meeting and a copy be sent both to the relatives of the deceased fellow worker and to the Industrial Union Bulletin.

HARRY L. GAINES,

H. HENKSON,

G. W. REIDER,

Committee.

## RESOLUTION COMMENDING HEADQUARTERS LEAGUE.

Whereas, This Local 15, Metal & Mach. Workers, I. W. W., recognizes the absolute necessity of providing a headquarters for the I. W. W. convenient of access to all members in their vicinity;

Whereas, This Local 15 recognizes that valuable work has been and is being done by the Headquarters League in maintaining the presence of headquarters at 60 Cooper Square; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Local 15 endorse the work of the Headquarters League in supporting and maintaining a suitable headquarters in this vicinity and recommend that all members of the I. W. W. as well as sympathizers in this locality give the said League their financial and moral support; and, further be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution (upon endorsement by our branches) be sent to the I. U. Bulletin.

THE I. DIST. COUNCIL AND THE HEADQUARTERS LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

ARCHD. BLACK, Sec. Secy.

## FROM A MEXICAN WORKER.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Fellow-workers and Comrades: I was very glad to hear that a convention of textile workers had been held in May, where a National Industrial Union of Workers in that industry was formed.

There are in Mexico a large number of wage slaves in that industry, but they, notwithstanding their sufferings and their horrible working conditions, can not organize because of the oppressive and the terroristic measures employed against them.

They organized themselves several thousand strong in 1906, but the capitalists who were afraid that the work-

ers would stop their pillages instituted a warfare of slander and calumny against the leaders of the Union, and then arranged a massacre in which over 200 people were brutally assassinated, among them children and the wives of workers.

This happened in the factory of Rio Blanco Canton de Orizaba, Estado de Vera Cruz.

As I know you and your comrades don't object to color and race I beg you, in the name of my fellow-workers, to show us the way you think that the I. W. W. propaganda may be extended into the Mexican territory. You can rest assured that you will find the ground well prepared and worked and you would have in a short time a large number of members.

I can give the necessary data which would help in the work and allow it to be carried on as fast as possible.

I remain your fellow-worker,

JOHN A. OLIVARES.

AN EXONERATION.

Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, Headquarters, 28 Fourth St., Neil M. MacLean, National Secretary.

Edinburgh, June 13, 1908.

Editor, Industrial Union Bulletin:

Dear Comrade:—More than six weeks ago I made effect a contrade in the standard letter which I asked him to forward to me, and only last week did I find out that he had not received my letter. I therefore send this copy of my previous letter to you direct with the explanation as to the difference between the date of writing and the date of your receipt of it.

Yours fraternally,

NEIL M. MACLEAN,

National Secretary,

Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain,

Headquarters, 28 Fourth St., Neil M. MacLean, National Secretary.

(Copy)

Edinburgh, April 17.

Editor, Industrial Union Bulletin:

Dear Comrade:—Our attention has been drawn to a statement which appeared in a recent issue of the 'Bulletin' to the effect that J. Connolly's record proves him to be a destroyer and wrecker of any movement he has been connected with.

As the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain is one of the movements Connolly was connected with, my N. E. C. believe they would be acting unjustly to him to let that statement go unchallenged, so far as the S. L. P. of G. B. is concerned. Whatever Connolly's record in America may be we do not know, but his actions and utterances while with us were all that we could desire them to be, straightforward, and above board.

Thanking you in anticipation for the publication of this,

Yours fraternally,

NEIL M. MACLEAN,

National Secretary,

Pro the N. E. C.

Get subscribers for the Industrial Union Bulletin.

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W. E. TRAUTMANN

Room 212 Bush Temple

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

The very multiplicity of offices which political government calls for unfit it to be used as a means of administering industry, besides throwing wide the door for favoritism and corruption. The objection urged by the uninformed citizen, who supposes he is combating Socialism, that 'the doesn't want the government to run everything' is well founded. In fact, all opposition to, and distrust of, political government is well founded also.

Get subscribers for the "Bulletin."

Send your subscription for THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., and fill out this blank.

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## PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

(Copy of Constitution Sent on Application.)

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